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A GENERAL SYSTEMS FORMULATION OF WORK RELATIONSHIPS.

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A TYPOLOGY FOR A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO TEACHER-WORK RELATIONSHIPS REGARDS THE SCHOOL AS AN EMPLOYING SYSTEM WITH SETS OF CONTRASTING SYSTEM-WORKER RELATIONSHIPS--(1) FORMAL-PERSONAL OR TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY, (2) DISCRETIONARY-PERSONAL OR PERMISSIVE PERSONALISM, (3) FORMAL-GENERALIZED OR ORGANIZATIONAL FORMALISM, AND (4) DISCRETIONARY-GENERALIZED OR OPEN SOCIETY. THE RELATIONSHIPS ARE DEFINED IN TERMS OF THE DEGREE AND DIRECTION OF AUTHORITY INVOLVED AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE BOUNDARY OF THE PARTICULAR SYSTEM IS OPEN OR CLOSED. THE MUTUAL REJECTION OF EACH OTHER'S IDEOLOGIES BY TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS AND SCHOOL BOARDS LEADS TO FIRM POLARIZATION OF THE RESPECTIVE GROUPS' POSITIONS. THIS MAKES NEGOTIATIONS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES DIFFICULT AT A TIME WHEN WORKERS ARE DEMANDING AN INCREASINGLY HIGHER RETURN IN THE EXCHANGE PROCESS OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES SERVING SYSTEM GOALS AND INDIVIDUAL NEEDS. IT IS THEORIZED THAT A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF TEACHER-WORK RELATIONSHIP PROBLEMS WILL RESULT WHEN THE SCHOOL BOARD AND THE TEACHERS' ORGANIZATION ARE VIEWED AS SEPARATE SYSTEMS INTERACTING THROUGH EXCHANGE UNITS IN A NEGOTIATIONS SUBSYSTEM. THIS PAPER WAS PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION (NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 17, 1967). (JK)

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A GENERAL SYSTEMS FORMULATION OF WORK RELATIONSHIPS

Work involves commonplace and well-known phenomena. In another sense work involves very complex social phenomena. There exists the possibility that the complexities of work relationships may be obscured through a sense of the obvious that arises from immediate and common experience.

One rather commonplace but fundamental aspect of work is that of giving something and getting something; typically, work for wages. While the exchange may be between individuals, more commonly it involves social groups. What the exchanges will be has to be worked out. Clearly there are anticipations and preferences both personal and social and there are sets of ideas that give cognitive support for them. If the total complex of phenomena of work and work relationships are to be meaningfully related, a conceptual framework that offers some promise of such integration is needed. It is here proposed that general systems offers such a mode of thinking.

In one sense general systems provides an analytic technique. It offers a method of thinking about events and relationships in units called 'systems'.[1] System definition leads to further speculation, particularly with respect to isomorphisms among systems, and to hypothetical propositions. In another sense general systems provides a method of looking at structural relationships independent, to a degree, of the specifics that are being related. Since work, while it involves many different specifics, is characterized rather basically by structural relationships of a social nature, general systems would seem to provide a potentially useful conceptual framework.

First, some definitions of systems and their characteristics will be undertaken; concepts work and related thought systems will then be formulated; and, finally, employer-employee relationships will be explored in terms of the concepts already developed.

SYSTEM DEFINITION AND RELATED CHARACTERISTICS

Let us define a <u>general system</u> as a set of objects or events together with the relationships between the objects or events and between their attributes.[2] More generally, a <u>system</u> may be defined as 'a set of parts and relationships'. In a social system the parts are <u>positions</u> patterned by a <u>division of labor</u>, which in turn rest upon socially shared meaning expressed <u>symbolically</u>. Let us now define a <u>status</u> as a symbolic representation of a position. Then a social system may be defined as a set of interrelated statuses.[3]

A system is to be distinguished from those elements and relationships external to the system. The 'line' or criteria of demarcation between the system and the external area is called the system <u>boundary</u>. Those external elements and

relationships which affect the performance of the system is called its environment. Thus the system and its environment stand in interaction toward one another.

System-environment interaction varies in terms of frequency and content of interaction. A system with low frequency and content of interaction will be called a closed system and one with high frequency and content will be called open. The openness-closedness of a system may be defined operationally in terms of boundary permeability. A relatively closed system is, by definition, relatively non-responsive to its environment. Under conditions of environmental change the system is likely to become dysfunctional and may be destroyed. On the other hand a very open system may be in danger of losing the identity which distinguishes it from its environment and may be absorbed.

A social system, if it is to continue over time as an identifiable and viable system, needs the symbolic mechanisms which (1) provide for a system of statuses and (2) maintains their interrelatedness as a system. The former will be called a mechanism of differentiation and the latter a mechanism of integration. Organization is seen as the interrelated mechanism of differentiation and integration. Thus organization is viewed as a subsystem that serves the development and maintenance of the system. Administration may be seen as the active aspect of the organization subsystem and will seek the growth and maintenance of the system. Since survival tends to be of high social importance, organization and administration can be expected to serve primarily a maintenance function.

System goal (s) constitute an important symbolically integrative mechanism. The goal represents significant social value and rests upon an explicit or implicit set of assumptions and conclusions that constitute the rationale for or the raison d'être of the system. Public schools have developed in various forms such a rationale, often alluding to equality of individual rights and the importance of human fulfillment. Such a goal-supporting symbolic system is here called a value system. Logically the functioning of the system serves as a means to accomplishment of a future state of the system defined by the goal (s). It then becomes important to specify the means which are predictive of the desired ends. Such specification is possible because one knows or believes that certain outcomes are likely to result from certain system actions. Those specifications are also based upon symbolically expressed systems which will be called belief systems. The combined belief-value systems constitute a relating of system means to ends or future states of the system and so constitute important integrative and maintaining systems and are here alluded to as system ideology.[4]

CONCEPTS OF WORK AND EXCHANGE

A worker may be seen as a subsystem occupying a status. He also has a set of values and beliefs which serve to define his degree of allegiance to the ideology of the system and to specify what are agreed upon rights and duties attached to the status. In certain religious orders the opportunity to serve through the system according to the ideology of the order constitute all the rights of life without

extraneous reward. Such total congruence of work and life appears to be what Goffman has termed a total institution or system. It is, however, the limiting case. Typically the worker, in performing certain duties in his status, expects that he will have certain rights in return. The worker-system relationship then becomes an exchange process.[6] Administration of work relationships may be seen as the operation of an exchange subsystem (part of the organization) between actual, potential, or past workers and the system with respect to their rights and duties. Operation of the exchange system results in an employment contract serving as symbolic legitimation of status occupancy. Personnel administration may now be conceived as administration of the work exchange subsystem. Those exchanges may be strictly specified (low discretion) out of the system ideology as it comes to be expressed in policies, rules, and regulations, or more latitude may be given (high discretion). Also the exchanges may be between the system and the worker (personal) or between the system and an organization of workers (general). The resulting typology will be considered in more detail later.

Ideology and Symbolism in Work Relationships

Ideology has been considered to involve the joint functioning of belief and value systems as they symbolically relate present variables to future system states both in terms of possibility and desirability. Ideology clearly involves ideas of what the system now is and what it may be. Thus ideology serves as an integrative and maintaining symbolic mechanism. It is likely, therefore, to be somewhat conservative and to seek to perpetuate traditional ways of doing things well beyond the time when they have ceased to be functional in the system. As an integrative symbolic system it tends to sharpen the distinction between the system and the environment, thus defining the boundary more clearly. Depending upon the definition, it may make the system more open or more closed. When the system is in opposition to its environment, the ideology is likely to make the boundary more closed, particularly in those sectors where exchange seems to threaten the system. When there are sharp ideological differences between systems, they are likely to define their boundaries as closed (in varying degrees) toward one another (for example between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.) and, when the boundaries do come in contact, somewhat like cold and warm fronts of weather systems meeting, there will be considerable 'turbulence'.

The above general propositions may be made more concrete by applying them to teacher organizations and school boards. Ideological symbolic systems tend to cluster around some particular symbolism. It is contended that the word 'professionalism' serves such a purpose for NEA and 'unionism' for the AFT. They constitute key ideological terms in belief and value systems based upon differing postulates regarding the relationships of the teacher to other workers in society. Derived from their ideological differences are contrasting boundary definitions; e.g., one has traditionally admitted administrators and the other has not. Those basic differences of belief and value are also reflected in the use of the terms "collective bargaining" and "professional negotiations". It is contended, therefore, that those are terms which serve to integrate and maintain the systems rather than to propose

different exchange processes. Thus it is that superintendents say that they do not find any real difference between negotiations under one name or the other. But one should not then go on, as some do, to say that the terms are meaningless and represent "only semantic differences." To make such a statement is to overlook the systemic importance of the symbolism of ideology. The AFT-NEA boundaries come into contact at various places; one that is most visible is the representation election. The 'turbulence' phenomenon in connection with that sort of contact is rather well known.

School board ideology provides another aspect of the example. Many believe that the board cannot and should not share its decision making processes with others, particularly with their employees.[7] The concept of sovereign authority relates back to a set of beliefs and values that supported and maintained the feudal system. Given the conditions of the times, the beliefs and values were in many ways appropriate; but many have continued to cling on culturally with varying traces of feudalism.[8] While feudalism tended to emphasize political inequalities among statuses in social systems, the authoritative and power differences took on more economic meaning with the emergence of the Industrial Revolution and concomitant trends emphasized egalitarianism.[9] Increased knowledge and accompanying specialization leading to greater division of labor has expanded the differentiation of social systems. Thus there tends to be an increasing number of statuses in social systems, including schools. An example is found in team teaching.

An important change has come about in conceptions of authority. The traditional concept had many feudal traces still expressed by some in terms of personal loyalty, "fealty",[10] and unquestioned acceptance of authority somehow attached to a status. Under conditions of increasing knowledge and worker expertise, ideology based upon assumptions of traditional, personalized, and status-connected authority becomes less effective as an integrative and maintaining mechanism. Ideology then moves in the direction of formulation of statuses upon the basis of logically related means and ends assuming an inherent equality among people and the worth of their efforts as people. The former suggests the "sovereign authority" ideology of school boards, while the latter points toward the "rational egalitarianism" that may be advocated by organizations of professional workers.

It seems reasonable to contend that the disturbances that are occurring these days between teachers' organizations and school boards constitute a form of 'turbulence' in areas of boundary contact between systems moved by different ideologies. It might also be argued that the mutual rejection of each other's ideologies (more in the case of AFT and less in the case of NEA) initially tended to make the systems more closed toward one another with more antipathy resulting in a decline of perception of good faith. Under these circumstances collective negotiations has served the purpose of providing a formalized and forced exchange system between boards and teacher's organizations. Given the ideological environment, one would expect turbulence, reticence, and recalcitrance on the part of board members, increasing militancy in both liberal and conservative teacher groups, lack of trust between the parties with respect to representation elections,

experiments with negotiations, and the like, and development of polar positions from which neither can move to compromise without loss of face. As these conditions are influenced through intersystem contact, it is reasonable to hope that better understanding and mutual faith will lead toward a more functional exchange system. Those shifts affect some very fundamental ideological assumptions which can be expected either to tear down some of our traditional symbolism or else pour radically new meaning into it. In this sense it is a revolution.

SYSTEM-WORKER EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIPS

The employing system has already been seen as applying its own rules to the worker (low discretionary) or permitting behavior outside the rules (high discretionary). The worker was seen as relating to the system either as an individual (personal) or through an organization of his work associates (general). These two sets of somewhat polar concepts provide four types of system-worker relationships. (Figure I):

1. Formal-personal or Traditional Authority
2. Discretionary-personal or Permissive Personalism
3. Formal-generalized or Organizational Formalism
4. Discretionary-generalized or Open Society

Traditional Authority

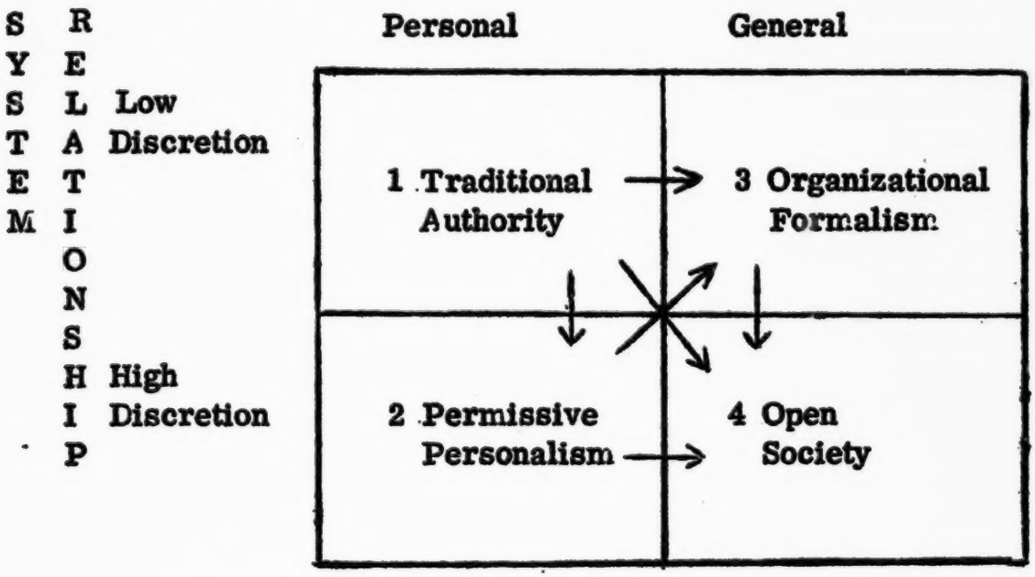
In the above typology the Traditional Authority, using essentially system to person relationships requiring of the worker rather strict conformity to the rules of the system, was still common within the recollection of many practicing teachers. Illustrative was the fact that much social behavior, such as dress, was specified in the contract or enforced socially. Reward or punishment with respect to those rules was typically carried out by the agent of the system who was not subject to external review except in very gross violation of reasonable interpretation of the rules. Unquestioning submission to that personalized interpretation of system authority took priority over rationality. Rule-interpretation can appear capricious when carried out on personalistic-affective grounds. At the same time that the system behavior may appear capricious, it can be safely assumed that the beliefs and values of the system or, what is more likely, of the person at that time representing the system are guiding the particularistic behavior in quite formal ways. Machievelli saw clearly the need for the Prince to camouflage his plans.[11] Under these conditions, when the environment reinforces the system ideology, as it did once through laws against organizations of workers and has given modified support more recently through the injunction or a Condon-Wadlon Law, the individual worker may be very much at the whim of the agent of the system.

Permissive Personalism

It is under those circumstances just described that the worker may be able to work up a sort of 'credit'. Behavior in accordance with system rules can result in personal favor and an image of trustworthiness. That perception could result in permission of greater behavioral latitude or greater discretion by the system officer. They may be hard workers, leaders in worker loyalty, GASers,[12] and the like. It would seem to be the land of system-selected entrepreneurs.

FIGURE I:

TYPOLOGY OF SYSTEM-WORKER EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIPS



Organizational Formalism

As the worker becomes dissatisfied with the rules, their application, or develops conceptions of benefits wanted and develops shared meaning among his associates, his system contact moves from the personal to the general. In the early stages the organization comes to set a framework within which types 1 and 2 above can continue. Sharp conflict is normally avoided so long as the organization is lead by type 2 entrepreneurs or so long as the system-worker relationships remain

reasonably satisfactory. Dissatisfaction, when it does come, relates to the state of the system under type 1 or 2 conditions but may be triggered by action either internal or environmental. Major conflict tends to emerge when the organization moves in to control the basic system-worker contractual relationships by changing it from a personal to a general contract. In that case the employee organization proposes mutual rule making and mutually acceptable means of reviewing the interpretation of the rules. Shared decision making seems eminently reasonable to teachers who see themselves as increasingly well prepared to make decisions about their specialization. The current environmental thrust of liberal elements in our society toward rational egalitarianism urges the process on. It would seem that the introduction of collective negotiations in schools represents a move from type 1 or type 2 to type 3. It may very well be that some school systems are now moving to type 2 as a means of avoiding or delaying the advent of type 3.

Comments have already been made on the conditions which make transition to type 3 'turbulent'. Because of those very conditions involving lack of mutual trust, it can be expected that the parties, at this stage, not trusting the other will tend to tie the behavior down to specific rules stated in rather detailed fashion in a contract and then turn to the agreement later to illustrate the madness of the other party. Consequently one can expect in this stage emphasis upon legal assistance, tricks of the trade that may be acquired from other fields, strategems that can outwit the other party, anxious competition, formalism, in fact, all the sorts of behavior that come naturally between parties which have not come to respect one another enough to negotiate in good faith. It may very well become a means of institutionalizing the status quo in schools.

Open Society

Formal exchange between systems, it has already been contended, may lead to a more closed or a more open attitude between systems. Under the circumstances just described both parties stand to gain by greater openness. Experience with formal exchange processes will result in greater ease both in the school personnel department (as the school exchange unit) and the agents of the organization as its unit. Experience will eventually reveal areas of honest difference and opportunities for good faith. With the easing of emotions and intersystem agression, a climate for rational elaboration of alternatives and examination of the assumptions and implications of positions would seem possible, opening the way to reduction of rule specificity and the increase of discretion through generalized standards. Within such a framework of ends and means, the specialist acquires a climate of greater professional latitude within a framework which has become amenable to rational joining of means to ends. When the nexus does not make sense, he and the board member each has a right to say so, not because of any traditional allocation of status to him as teacher or board member, but as a human being in a society where employer and employee each share the privilege we have already called "rational egalitarianism". It is this stage which is anticipated in type 4, the Open Society. There are examples

of this type of work relationship taking shape apparently in different parts of the country. Necessary conditions would seem to include a board that is non-doctrinaire regarding authority, a tradition of authentic, formal exchange relations which made possible mutual trust, combined with a commitment to rational grounds for courses of action. Typically the movement would be from type 3 to type 4. Conceivably the move might be made effectively directly from type 2 to type 4. The initiative might be expected to come from one of the entrepreneurs who had a wide range of support among teachers and administrators. Direct movement from 1 to 2 in an effective way seems less likely. A strong superintendent, viewed as a man of good faith and having an able staff with initiative, might move rather directly. But under those circumstances it is doubtful that he could have remained at type 1.

Exchange Processes and Subsystems

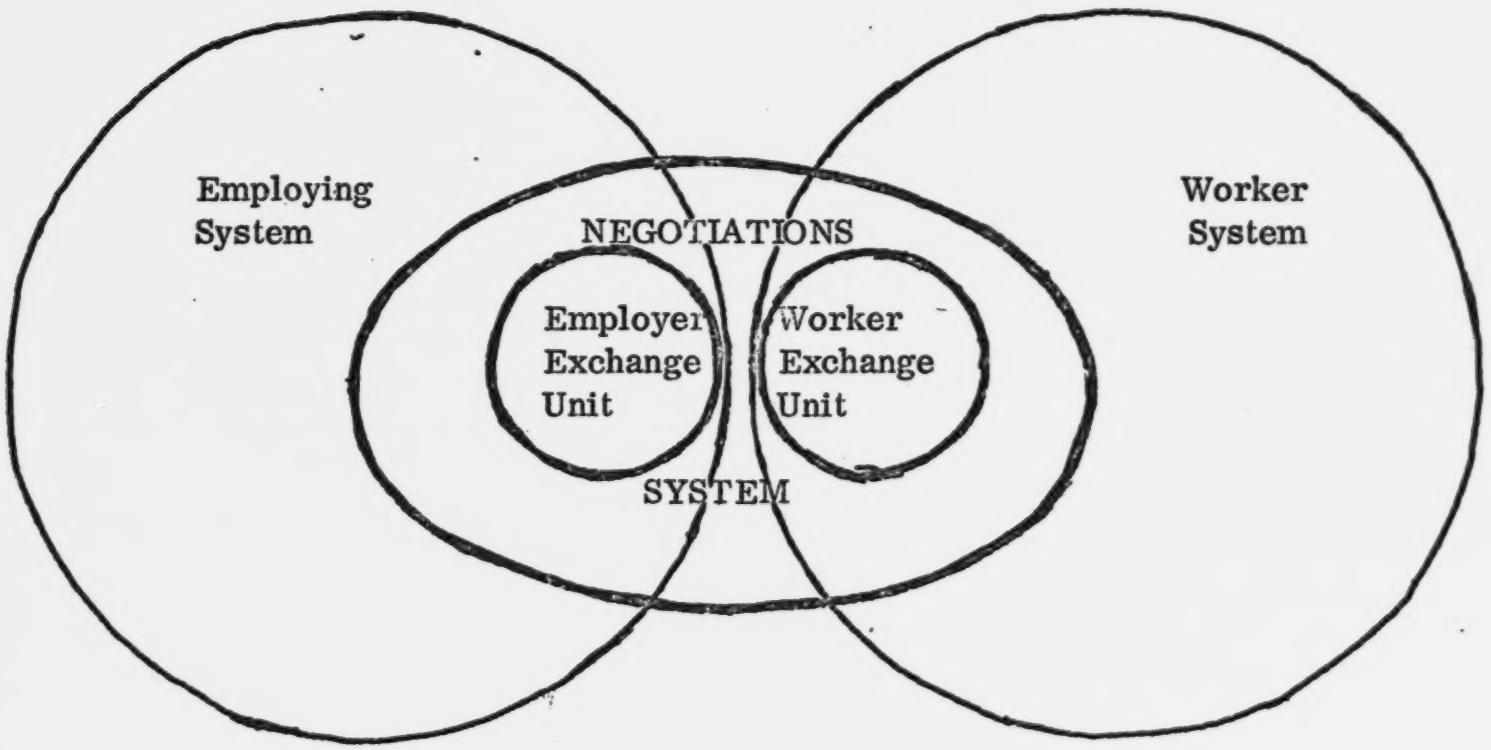
System-worker relationships have already been viewed as a process of exchange of rights and duties serving system goals and individual needs. We have already noted the system and individual belief-value systems or ideologies which function in means-ends decisions.[13] The system will make its decisions on what it wishes to give for what duties and the individual or his organization will make decisions about what duties might be performed for what returns. Thus each will have an exchange decision mechanism or subsystem. Let us call them the employer exchange unit and the worker exchange unit (Figure 2). These two units may be seen as having certain ranges within which they will bargain for exchange of services and rewards.[14] The exchange process through which exchange units relate to one another and work out exchanges will be called the negotiation system. It is, thus, a system that overlaps both the employing system and the worker system linking the exchange subsystems of each. An assumption basic to the functioning of such an exchange system is that the parties can make a difference in the behavior of the other (influence) and that they have means at their disposal for affecting the other's behavior, positively or negatively (power).

A negotiation system is seen as existing in any of the types of system-worker relationships considered above. The traditional employer-worker relationship has been the personal one (Types 1 and 2). In a 'small'[15] system there might be a direct personal relationship between the administrator of the system and the employer. As a system becomes relatively 'large' the variables become great enough that a subsystem (personnel department) is set up to be concerned with such exchange processes with personnel. It appears that the need arose in schools primarily in connection with the need to search out for employment enough teachers to staff the schools, manifest in the expansions that took place after each of the last two wars. Those relationships were, for the most part on personalistic bases.

A whole new set of variables become operative and others become more active as one moves from personal to general worker relationships thus making the system somewhat larger. The shift in the case of schools, derives from a number of sources.[16]

FIGURE 2:

DIAGRAM OF INTERSYSTEM EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIPS



Under personalism there was a large power discrepancy between the system and the teacher. As teachers have become better prepared they want more discretion in the context of their profession; with growing numbers of men and increasing career-mindedness, there is a mounting concern about rewards; and the growing primacy of reason over status has penetrated ideological systems of teachers. Thus the transition from the personal to the general level is associated with what appears to be a new professional identity with a more rational ideology combined with a thrust toward more power for both professional and economic ends.

When boards and administrators see this new militancy as a threat to the traditional authority of schools or the total system of paternalistic personalism, they may view the teacher organization as a threat to the whole system. Given such priority, it is to be expected that the board and the chief administrator will become directly involved in the negotiation system. Soon, it appears, the board and the chief administrator come to the realization that the school environment has much more to it than the teacher organization and realize that time and energy have to be reallocated. It may also be that the board and its chief executive wish to develop their policies out of their immediate experience. In any case it would be expected that the board and its superintendent would make the policy and procedural provisions which would provide the base for interpretative linkage with the employer exchange unit located in the personnel department. The contention is that exchange relations with personnel, while very important, are simply part of the total operation of the school. Thus the board and superintendent could be expected to be involved directly in establishing the plans and policies with respect to negotiations but have little direct hand in the operation of the negotiation system. Certainly they would be expected to participate in the symbolic legitimation of the contract finally arrived at and to give guidance to the negotiating units with respect to alternatives and bargaining ranges.

While such a procedure would seem to make sense in terms of certain general system considerations because of certain other system variables the relationships have taken another form. Those variables probably relate to power. Negotiation has to do with exchanges between the units that have the power with respect to the matters being negotiated. The teachers' organization has no doubt in the cases of many systems that the power rests with the board or the superintendent or both and that there is little valid delegation of power. Such a state of affairs is to be expected under conditions of personalism be it in relation to traditional authority or a permissive discretion. Quite sensibly, they want to negotiate where the power is. If the argument for a different allocation of negotiation, as made above is valid, then collective negotiation will likely result in a more meaningful delegation of power to negotiating subsystems in schools.

It is the realignment of power, no doubt, that is creating so much turbulence within the negotiation system and along the boundaries between the systems. Those power shifts are probably impossible without basic shifts in the related ideological structure, some of which apparently have strong emotional - almost sacred - support.

It would appear that the shift is similar in some aspects to the shift that Tonnies saw from Gesellschaft.[17] Once the negotiation system has reached a viable power balance and a rational base for open exchange evolved, it would seem that the elements needed for a more open social system of work relationships will be in place.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For background regarding general systems see: Ludwig von Bertalanffy, "General Systems Theory" in General Systems, Yearbook of the Society for General Systems Research, Vol. I (1956) and other issues of General Systems, passim.

2. In this connection and other definitions of O.R. Young "A Survey of General Systems Theory" in General Systems, Yearbook of the Society for General Systems Research, Vol. IX (1964) pp. 61-80.

3. Cf. Harry C. Bredemeier and Richard H. Stephenson, The Analysis of Social Systems. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1962), p. 31.1.

4. For a statement which has certain similarities of Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, Appendix I "Methodological Note on Valuations and Beliefs," Applications to American Society appear, for example, in Myrdal, Chapter 1, 'American Ideals and the American Conscience' and Yehoshua Arieli, Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology (Baltimore, Md. : Penguin Books, 1966).

5. Erving Goffman, Asylums. Anchor Books (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961).

6. The concept of 'social exchange' has been developed by such writers as: Ludwig von Mises, Human Action. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), particularly Chap. X "Exchange Within Society"; Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, Economy and Society, (New York: The Free Press, 1956 and 1965), particularly Chap. III 'The Institutional Structure of the Economy'; George Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961); and Peter M. Blau, Exchange and Power in Social Life, especially Chap. 4 "Social Exchange." An application to the employment relationship appears in R. Oliver Gibson, "Toward a Conceptualization of Absence Behavior of Personnel in Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, Volume 11, No. 1 (June 1966) pp. 107-133.

7. In this connection see: R. Oliver Gibson and Herold C. Hunt, The School Personnel Administrator, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965) Chap. 15 "Procedures for Decisions on Welfare" particularly pp. 175-9 where the ideology of 'sovereign authority' is considered.

8. For further understanding see: Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, Trans. by L.A. Manyon. Phoenix Books, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), especially Vol. 2, Part VIII, "Feudalism as a Type of Society and its Influences"; P. Boissanade, Life and Work in Medieval Europe, Trans. by Eileen Power. Harper Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); H.W.C. Davis (ed.), Medieaval, England, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1924); Encyclopedia Brittannica, 11th Ed., (1911), Vol. X, pp. 297-302, "Feudalism"; and Alfred von Martin, Sociology of the Renaissance, Harper Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

9. In relation to those trends see: Reinhard Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry, Harper Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) First published in 1956; Georges Friedmann, The Anatomy of Work, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964); Morris Ginsberg, On Justice in Society, (Baltimore, Md.; Penguin Books, 1965); Clark Kerr, et al, Industrialism and Industrial Man, A Galaxy Book, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Henry Sumner Maine, Ancient Law (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), First published in 1861, especially Chap. IX; Paul Mantoux, The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century, Harper Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), First published in English 1928; John U. Nef, Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization, Harper Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row, 1960); John H. Schaar, Escape from Authority, Harper Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); R. H. Tawney, Equality, Unwin Books, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1964), First published 1931; R. H. Tawney, The Acquisitive Society, A Harvest Book. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1948).

10. Note Fred M. Hechinger "Administrators vs. Boards - Behind City's Dispute" New York Times (November 28, 1965) p. E7.

11. ". . . on putting them (his plans) into effect they begin to be known and discovered, they begin to be opposed by those he has about him, and he is easily diverted from his purpose. Hence it comes to pass that what he does one day he undoes the next, no one ever understands what he wishes or intends to do, and no reliance is to be placed on his deliberation.' Niccolo Machievelli, The Prince, Section 23.

12. As used in Daniel E. Griffiths, Samuel Goldman, and Wayne J. McFarland, "Teacher Mobility in New York City", Educational Administration Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter 1965) p. 29.

13. The formulation is more fully developed in R. Oliver Gibson, "A General Systems Approach to Decision Making", Journal of Educational Administration (In press).

14. See, for example, F.C. Ikle in collaboration with N. Leites, "Negotiation: A Device for Modifying Utilities" in Martin Shubik (ed.), Game Theory and Related Approaches to Social Behavior (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964) pp. 243-57.

15. The ideas 'small' and 'large' involve the more general concept 'size'. Size is here thought to involve the number of variables operative in the system. Thus the number of parts need not be a measure of the 'size' of the system. A more sensative measure of size is probably the number of transactions within and among system elements and with the environment.

16. For materials on collective negotiation see: Issues of Phi Delta Kappan since 1960, passim; Commission on Educational Reconstruction, Organizing the Teaching Profession (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955); James P. Steffensen, Teachers Negotiate With Their School Boards U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Bulletin 1964, No. 40. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964); "Negotiations on Education" Theory into Practice, Vol. IV, No. 2 (April 1965); Roy B. Allen and John Schmid (eds.), Collective Negotiations and Educational Administration (Fayetteville, Ark. and Columbus, Ohio; College of Education, University of Arkansas and University Council for Educational Administration, No date); American Association of School Administrators, School Administrators View Professional Negotiations (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1966); Myron Lieberman and Michael H. Moskow, Collective Negotiations for Teachers (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1966); and T.M. Stinnett, Jack H. Kleinmann, and Martha L. Ware, Professional Negotiation in Public Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966).

17. Ferdinand Tonniës, Community and Society Trans. and ed. by Charles P. Loomis, Harper Torchbooks, (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) First published 1887.